

**RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STALKING AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST
WOMEN IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF ANANINDEUA, PARÁ**

**RELAÇÕES ENTRE STALKING E A VIOLÊNCIA DOMÉSTICA CONTRA AS MULHERES
NO MUNICÍPIO DE ANANINDEUA, PARÁ**

**RELACIONES ENTRE EL ACOSO Y LA VIOLENCIA DOMÉSTICA CONTRA LAS
MUJERES EN EL MUNICIPIO DE ANANINDEUA, PARÁ**



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ABSTRACT

This article aims to characterize the profile of the victim of stalking crime in the context of domestic and family violence against women in the municipality of Ananindeua, Pará, Brazil. Methodologically, this is descriptive-exploratory research, with a quantitative and documentary approach. The data used in the analysis comes from the Secretariat of Intelligence and Criminal Analysis (SIAC), and refers to all police reports registered with DEAM Ananindeua, period from April 2021 to April 2023, totaling 363 police reports for the crime of stalking. The main results highlight that the majority of victims of the crime of stalking are female (84.25%), single (53.35%), the majority were aged between 25 and 31 years (24.83%), with complete secondary education (44.29%), self-employed (34.58%) and housewives (17.55%), victimized on Monday (17.38) and Thursday (15.41%), in their homes (64.92%) and for reasons of hatred or revenge (77.41%), generally taking up to 9 days to report (92.13%).

Keywords: Domestic and Family Violence. Persecution. Feeling of Possession.

RESUMO

O presente artigo objetiva caracterizar o perfil da vítima do crime stalking no contexto da violência doméstica e familiar contra a mulher no município de Ananindeua, Pará, Brasil. Metodologicamente, trata-se de pesquisa descritiva-exploratória, com abordagem quantitativa e de caráter documental. Os dados utilizados na análise provenientes da Secretaria de Inteligência e Análise Criminal (SIAC) e são referentes a todos os boletins de ocorrência registrados na DEAM de Ananindeua período de abril de 2021 a abril de 2023, num total de 363 boletins de ocorrências do crime de stalking. Como principais resultados destaca-se que a maioria das vítimas do crime de stalking é do sexo feminino (84,25%), solteira (53,35%), com idade entre 25 a 31 anos (24,83%), ensino médio completo (44,29%), autônomas (34,58%) e donas de casa (17,55%), vitimadas na segunda-feira (17,38) e quinta-

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feira (15,41%), nas suas residências (64,92%) e por motivos de ódio ou vingança (77,41%), levando geralmente até 9 dias para denunciar (92,13%).

Palavras-chave: Violência Doméstica e Familiar. Perseguição. Sentimento de Posse.

RESUMEN

Este artículo tiene como objetivo caracterizar el perfil de las víctimas de acoso en el contexto de la violencia doméstica y familiar contra las mujeres en el municipio de Ananindeua, Pará, Brasil. Metodológicamente, se trata de un estudio descriptivo-exploratorio con un enfoque cuantitativo y documental. Los datos utilizados en el análisis provienen de la Secretaría de Inteligencia y Análisis Criminal (SIAC) y corresponden a todos los informes policiales registrados en la Comisaría de Mujeres de Ananindeua (DEAM), período comprendido entre abril de 2021 y abril de 2023, con un total de 363 denuncias del delito de stalking. Los hallazgos clave destacan que la mayoría de las víctimas de acoso son mujeres (84,25%), solteras (53,35%), con edades comprendidas entre los 25 y los 31 años (24,83%), con estudios secundarios completos (44,29%), trabajadoras por cuenta propia (34,58%) y amas de casa (17,55%), que son víctimas los lunes (17,38%) y los jueves (15,41%), en sus hogares (64,92%), y por motivos de odio o venganza (77,41%), tardando generalmente hasta 9 días en denunciar (92,13%).

Palabras clave: Violencia Doméstica y Familiar. Acoso. Posesividad.

1 INTRODUCTION

The insidious stalking known as stalking is a type of violence in relationships in which, repeatedly, the persecutor intends to have a forced connection with the victim, even if it is an accepted conduct, seen as an expression of male love in patriarchy. Adequate typification provides for the various ways that the aggressor tries to communicate, surveilling and monitoring (Grangeia; Matos, 2010) the victim.

The behaviors of stalkers associated with ex-intimate partners are: surveilling, spying, wandering around the victim's residence through phone calls, emails, visits to the home or work, making contact with third parties to find out how the victim is doing, posting revenge pornography, implanting tracking devices, threatening to commit suicide, breaking into the house or other property, damaging property, physical assault and rape, calling insistently, spying, trying to control, sending e-mails or notes (White; Longpré; Stefanska, 2022).

According to the Brazilian Yearbook of Public Security (FBSP, 2025), 95,026 (nine thousand and twenty-six) cases of women victims of persecution were registered, which represents an increase of 18.2% compared to the previous year. This is equivalent to an average of 10 women persecuted every hour in the country. The crime of stalking grew approximately 35% from one year to the next in Brazil. In Pará, there was a jump of 30.8% from January to October 2025. Experts warn that the crime of *stalking* is often a prelude to more serious violence, with about 80% of femicide cases beginning with episodes of stalking. In other words, since 2021, when the crime of stalking was typified in the Penal Code, the numbers have only grown, without considering all the cases that do not come to the attention of the competent authorities and that, therefore, do not enter into this quantitative analysis.

The rupture of domestic violence has generally occurred through external intervention, since women are rarely able to disengage from a violent man without the help of third parties, tending to an oscillating trajectory in the relationship (Saffioti, 2015). However, until the advent of the Maria da Penha Law (LMP), a legislative milestone on the subject, women did not have the proper attention in Brazil, and then femicide was defined in Law No. 13,104 of 2015, according to Haile (2020).

Since the Maria da Penha Law, the Brazilian State has been striving to curb violence, more specifically with regard to gender violence. In this context, the International Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women (Brazil, 1996) in its first article defines violence against women as any act or conduct based on gender, which causes death, damage or physical, sexual or psychological suffering to women. It adds in article 4 that everyone has the right to respect for life, physical, mental and moral integrity, emphasizing the right not to be subjected to torture and not to be discriminated against (article

6).

The crime of stalking is still new, especially in Brazil, as it was only in 2021 that it was expressly provided for in our legislation, from the inclusion of article 147-A in the Brazilian Penal Code by Law 14,132/2021. In this context, we insert Arendt's (1970) assertion about the mechanism of force applied to violence, often treated as synonyms and naturally seen as "forces of nature" or even "forces of circumstances" (*la force des choses*), generally indicating the release of energy, in this case referring to the energy of the aggressor, towards the victim in physical or social movements. In this case, the special character of social coercion is visible in the force that the stalker applies to monitor and penalize the victim, mobilizing knowledge about the social circle of the offended.

For women, the elements of violence such as the time of exposure to the acts, having their lives paralyzed and controlled by the aggressor and having no one to turn to influence the appearance of mental symptoms of anxiety and post-traumatic stress (Cabreiro, 2023). Cross-sectional research recommends further studies with victims of stalking, to indicate exposure to aggression, understand gender and sociocultural factors, risks, severity, and discuss forms of prevention (Borges; Dell'aglio, 2019).

In the first study to compare recidivism among stalkers, using four different operational definitions of recidivism, it was demonstrated that recidivism was indisputably high and occurs within a short time. It is emphasized that researching crimes other than the crime of stalking and harassment is pertinent, as many stalkers are repeat offenders. Stalkers tend to be accused and convicted more than once, and even though they are legally "constrained" by police restraining orders that are often not respected (Bendlin; Sheridan; Johnson, 2022).

Therefore, due to the implications of this behavior, the difficulties related to a clear definition of stalking and in the recognition of the behavior by the victim are studied, as it generally involves repetition of behaviors considered natural if observed separately, harmless and even desirable if viewed as seduction and courtship, which, however, can turn into constant intimidation (Roberts, 2005).

In this sense, this article aims to characterize the profile of the victim of *stalking* in the context of domestic and family violence against women in the municipality of Ananindeua, in the state of Pará, Brazil, from April 2021 to April 2023, the year of my master's research.

2 METHODOLOGY

This is a descriptive-exploratory research (Severino, 2016), with a quantitative and documentary approach (Gil, 2019). The quantitative approach research (Marconi; Lakatos, 2017) is based on numerical data to corroborate hypotheses and make considerations about

the expression of the frequency of variables, the characteristics of a given set that in this study will be about stalking crimes committed in the municipality of Ananindeua, in the state of Pará, Brazil, from April 2021 to April 2023, analyzing 363 police reports of the crime in question.

Quantification allows the analysis of intensity dimensions, introducing variables that help to better explain the phenomenon in research. To ensure reliable data, quantitative research uses techniques and reduces the risk of duplication in collection, using questionnaires with closed questions or consultation and tabulation of numerical data in documents (Rodrigues; Oliveira; Santos, 2021). In this follow-up, documentary research (Gil, 2019) refers to the exploration of data from documents and databases not previously analyzed or processed and can be carried out on documents available in public and private agencies of any nature.

The locus of this research is the city of Ananindeua, whose population in the last census in 2022 was estimated at 478,778 people and the demographic density in the same year was 2,512.20 inhabitants per square kilometer (IBGE, 2022). The period from April 2021 to April 2023 was considered as the time frame of the research, due to the enactment of Law No. 14,132/21 (Brasil, 2021), in 2021, which criminalized the conduct of the crime of stalking, inserting article 147-A, in the Brazilian Penal Code.

The source of the data used in this research was the Assistant Secretary of Intelligence and Criminal Analysis (SIAC), linked to the Secretariat of Public Security and Social Defense of the State of Pará, which, based on a formal request via letter, provided the database of police occurrence records and procedures established in the municipality of Ananindeua. The variables used for analysis are: age of the victim, gender of the victim, level of education of the victim, marital status of the victim, age of the perpetrator, sex of the perpetrator, profession of the perpetrator, unit of origin of the occurrence, unit responsible, date of registration, date of the fact, day of the week, class of the crime, middle employee, presumed cause, place of occurrence and degree of relationship. 363 police reports of the crime of *stalking* were analyzed.

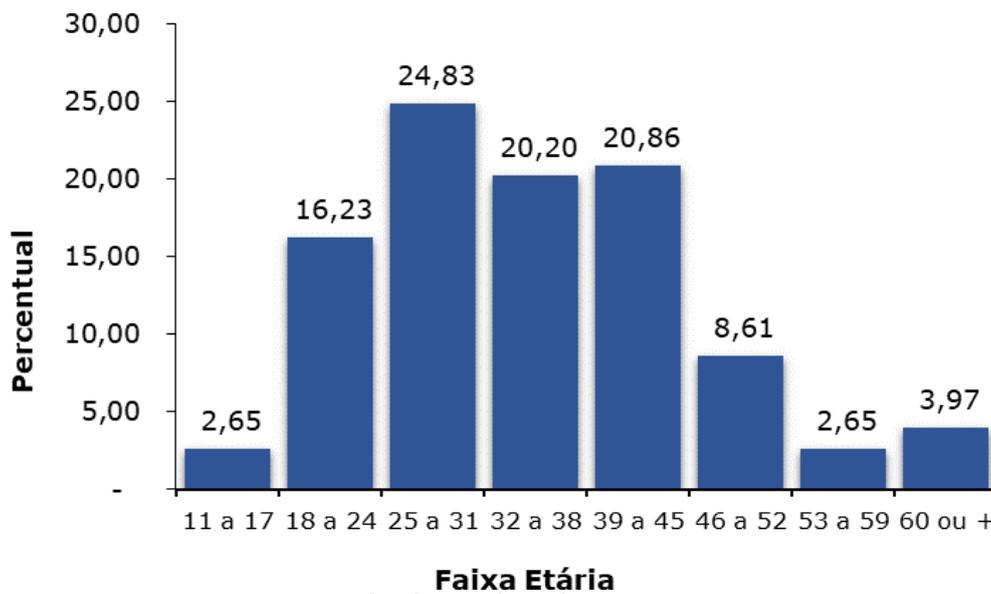
Data analysis was performed using simple descriptive statistics (Bussab; Morettin, 2024), based on visual representations, such as tables and statistical graphs, as well as on the calculations of frequencies, percentages, and summary measures, which demonstrate the expressiveness of the variables (Dancey; Reidy, 2019).

3 RESULTS

A profile of victims was verified from the records of persecution in Ananindeua, in the period from April 2021 to April 2023, from the 363 police reports. Figure 1 shows that most of the victims are aged between 25 and 31 years (24.83%), followed by the age group between 39 and 45 years (20.86%).

Figure 1

Percentage by age group of victims of the crime of stalking in the municipality of Ananindeua, Pará State, Brazil, from April 2021 to April 2023

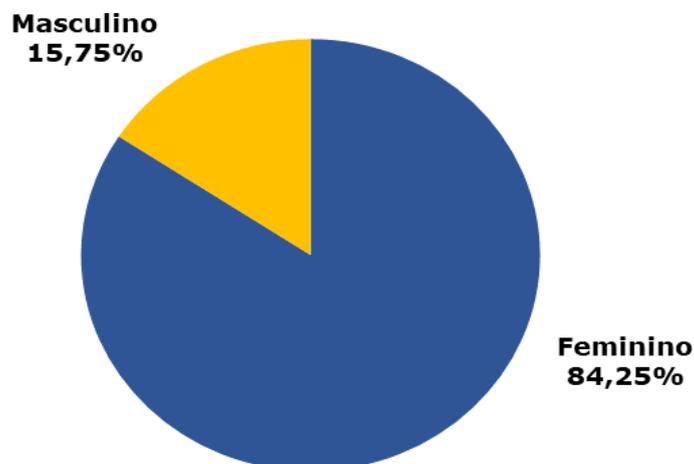


Source: Prepared by the authors based on SIAC data (2023).

Figure 2 shows that the vast majority of victims of the crime of stalking are female, with 84.25% of the records, which corroborates the maxim addressed in the present study that women are the main victims of this crime.

Figure 2

Percentage by Gender, of Victims of the crime of stalking in the municipality of Ananindeua, Pará State, Brazil, from April 2021 to April 2023

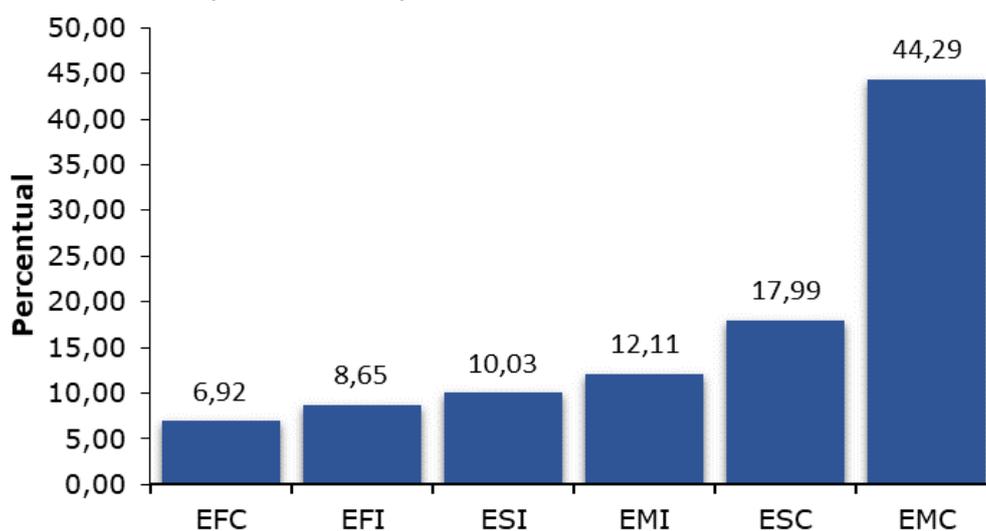


Source: Prepared by the authors based on SIAC data (2023).

Regarding the victim's level of education, it can be seen from Figure 3 that 44.29% of the victims have completed high school (CME), followed by 17.99% of the victims with complete higher education and in third place, with 12.11%, of the victims have incomplete high school.

Figure 3

Percentage by Schooling, of victims of the crime of stalking in the municipality of Ananindeua, Pará State, Brazil, from April 2021 to April 2023



Escolaridade

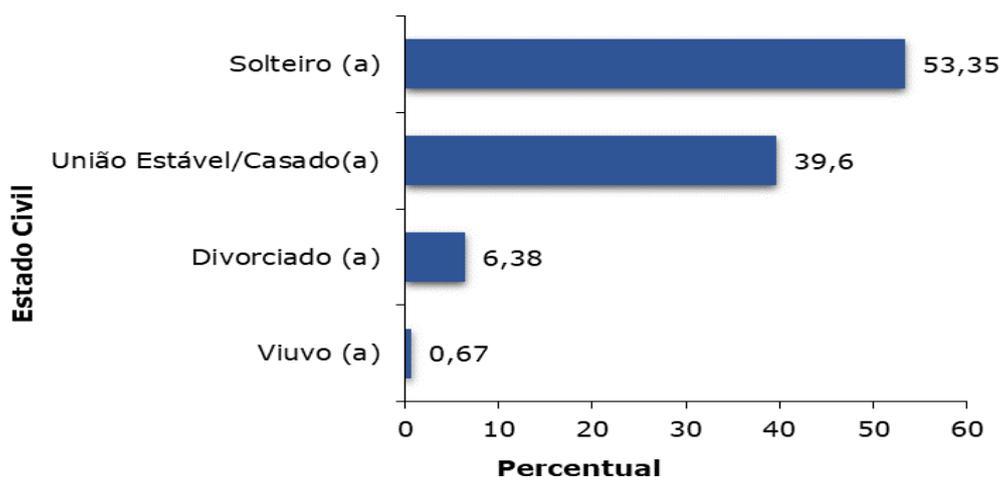
Legend: Incomplete Elementary School (EFI); Complete Elementary School (EFC); Incomplete High School (EMI); Complete High School (EMC); Incomplete Higher Education (ESI); Complete Higher Education (ESC).

Source: Prepared by the authors based on SIAC data (2023).

Furthermore, by marital status (Figure 4), a little more than half of the victims (53.35%) declared themselves single, demonstrating that even without a steady partner they are still susceptible to suffering the crime, this data is followed by common-law marriage/married, with 39.60% of the occurrences.

Figure 4

Percentage by marital status, of victims of the crime of stalking in the municipality of Ananindeua, Pará State, Brazil, from April 2021 to April 2023



Source: Prepared by the authors, based on SIAC data

Regarding the victims' profession, Table 1 shows that the majority declared themselves as "self-employed", representing 34.58%, followed by housewives, with 17.55%.

Table 1

Quantity and Percentage, by profession, of records of stalking victims in the municipality of Ananindeua, Pará, Brazil, from April 2021 to April 2023

Profession	Records	
	No.	%
Stand-alone	65	34,58
Housewife	33	17,55
Student	28	14,89
Domestic	19	10,11
Nurse	13	6,91
Hairdresser	10	5,32
Teacher	9	4,79
Administrator	7	3,72
Technician	4	2,13
Subtotal	188	100
Other (*)	71	-
Total	259	-

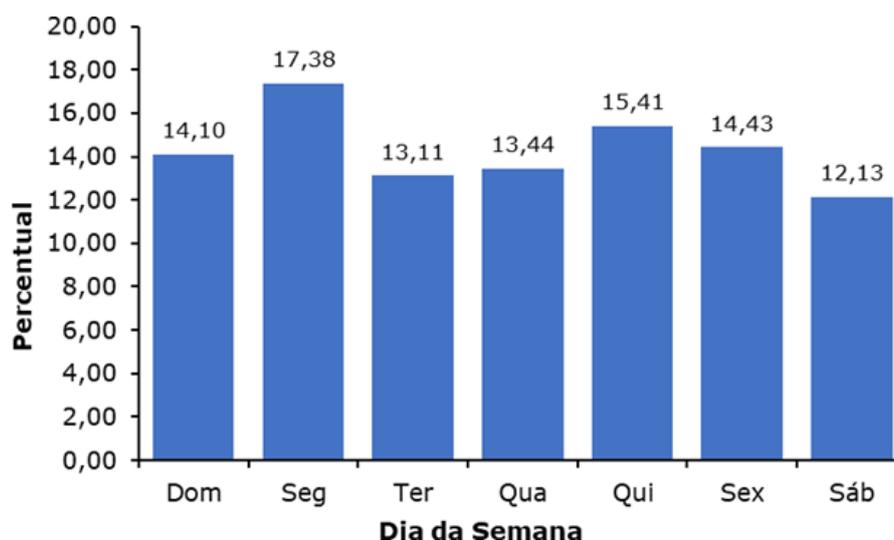
Note: (*) Other is a variable that is posted directly to the database provided.

Source: Prepared by the authors based on SIAC data (2023).

As for the day of the week, Figure 5 reveals that Monday was the day with the highest percentage of occurrences of the crime of stalking, with 17.38%, followed by Thursday, with 15.41% and Friday 14.43%.

Figure 5

Percentage, by day of the week, of records of victims of the crime of stalking in the municipality of Ananindeua, Pará State, Brazil, from April 2021 to April 2023.



Source: Prepared by the authors based on SIAC data

Analyzing the presumed causes, it is revealed that 77.01% reported that the reasons for such practices were hatred or revenge, followed by jealousy, with 17.24%, and ambition, with 4.02%, as can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2

Quantity and Percentage, by presumed cause of records of victims of the crime of stalking in the municipality of Ananindeua, Pará, Brazil, from April 2021 to April 2023

Presumed cause	Records	
	No.	%
Hatred or Revenge	134	77,01
Jealousy	30	17,24
Ambition	7	4,02
Alcoholism/Drunkenness	2	1,15
Alienation	1	0,57
Subtotal	174	100
Other (*)	71	-
Total	259	-

Note: (*) Other is a variable that is posted directly to the database provided.

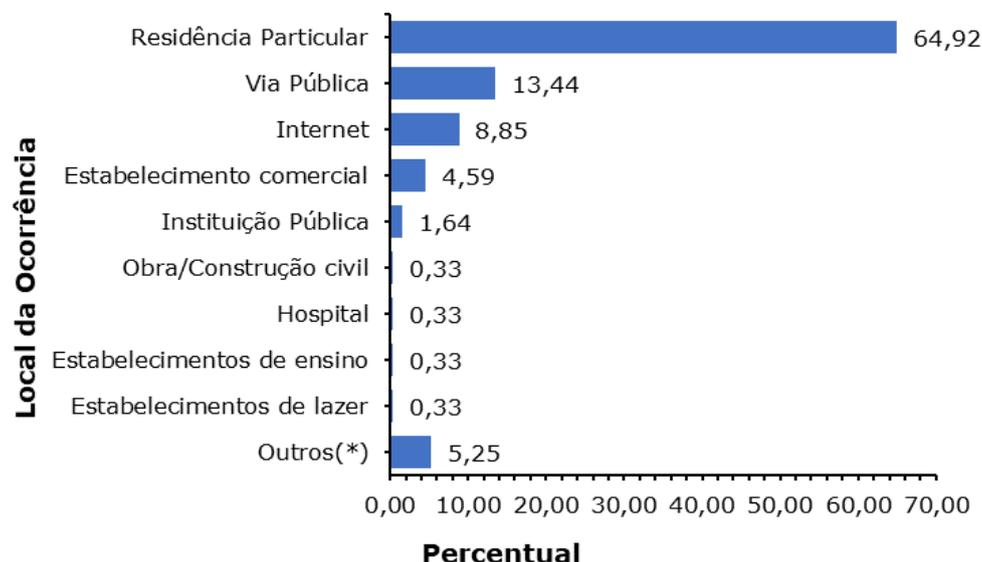
Source: Prepared by the authors based on SIAC data

Emphasizing that the crime of stalking is linked to domestic violence. Figure 6 clarifies that private residence stands out as the place of occurrence with the highest percentage

(64.92%), in addition to public roads and the internet are the places with the most records, 13.44% and 8.85%, respectively.

Figure 6

Percentage, by place of occurrence, of records of victims of the crime of stalking in the municipality of Ananindeua, Pará, Brazil, from April 2021 to April 2023



Note: (*) Other is a variable that is posted directly to the database provided.

Source: Prepared by the authors based on SIAC data

It should be noted that victims often take a long time to seek help and report their aggressors, regardless of the crime they suffered. However, as can be seen in Table 3, in the crime of stalking in most cases, in the period analyzed, the difference between the day of the fact and the day the record was made, it is evident that most victims took up to 9 days to report (represented by 92.13%).

Table 3

Amount and Percentage by time to register victims of the crime of stalking in the municipality of Ananindeua, Pará, Brazil, from April 2021 to April 2023

Time (days)	Records	
	No.	%
0 to 9	281	92,13
10 to 19	9	2,95
20 to 29	3	0,98
30 to 39	3	0,98
40 to 49	6	1,97
50 to 59	1	0,33
80 to 89	1	0,33
90 to 99	1	0,33
Total	305	100

Source: Prepared by the authors based on SIAC data

4 DISCUSSIONS

Crimes against women no longer require the physical means to be carried out, the growth of stalking, threats and psychological violence in the year 2024 indicated this. Thus, in the State of Pará, there were 1,931 complaints of stalking in 2023, which compared to the 1,168 complaints in 2022, point to a clear growth in this type of crime and awareness of it (FBSP, 2024).

Most of the victims are in the age group of 25 to 31 years old in Ananindeua, this age group is slightly lower than that reported by Gonçalves (2023) in the State of São Paulo, which obtained higher percentages in women aged 30 and 39 years (33.2%) of the victims. In turn, the quantitative research by Corte-Real (2017) and Abreu (2019) indicates a higher number of stalked women aged 18 to 22 years, these same studies corroborate that the victims of stalking are predominantly young adult women.

In this article, it was found that unlike what occurs in Portugal, where 41.2% of the participants attended only basic education and 32.9% high school (Matos *et al.*, 2012), in Ananindeua/PA, approximately 45% of the women who suffer the crime of stalking have completed high school. Understanding the level of education of these women is necessary so that educational, preventive and awareness-raising actions can be structured.

Subsequently, women who were declared single were the main victims, corroborating the data from a study by Juiz de Fora (Lopes, 2017) which indicate that 50% of the victims did not have a fixed relationship. In the present study, this finding is more expressive, 53.35% declare themselves single. Another study carried out in the metropolitan region of the city of Rio de Janeiro reaches the same profile when it comes to domestic violence, 50.3% of single women, the authors conjecture that women in a marital situation may not report violence they suffer because they do not understand that their rights are violated in certain situations, preferring to preserve their marriage (Moura; Albuquerque Netto; Souza, 2012).

It should be noted that the most expressive day of the week for the occurrence of crimes was Monday (17.38%), despite the lack of literature to confirm or confront this data, domestic violence and femicide stand out, data from Tolosa (2017) that help to confirm Monday and Sunday as the days of greatest occurrence in Belém (8.9% on this day), and this is the capital of the State that borders the municipality of Ananindeua. It is corroborated that the weekend is the day that the aggressors are free from their professional activities and probably travel to where the victim is, a situation that in theory would extend until Monday.

The victim's residence is the main place for the practice of the crime of stalking (64.92%), when prowling the residence he expects to establish contact or even threaten the woman, this is pointed out in Pinto (2022) who reiterates that for other passers-by obsessive

persecution goes unnoticed, due to the fact that the aggressor is usually someone close to the victim as in the present study. This means that major questions and concerns about security and surveillance are not even raised.

The impediment to act as one would like in one's own home or workplace brings panic and hurts women's mental health, it is not uncommon that out of fear they can change their address, or when not, they are confined inside the house with closed windows and low curtains, so that the criminal on the street does not see them at home (Santos; Tagliaferro, 2020).

Nevertheless, about 34.58% of women work informally claiming to be self-employed, although a significant number are housewives, students, housekeepers, nurses, hairdressers, teachers, administrators and technicians (approximately 66%). It is known that regarding work activity, it is common for women to suffer sabotage at work during and after separation, due to the conduct of the ex-partner in the case of stalking (29.1%) in a study by the University of Kentucky. In cases of stalking, the Kentucky study pointed out that 9.6% of the sample lost their job or did not work for a period during the relationship, 9.8% indicated that they were fired or were unable to work for a period of time during the separation from the stalker (Logan; Showalter, 2023).

It is noteworthy that the presumed cause for the most incident crime of stalking is the hatred and revenge in general of ex-partners, coinciding with femicide, a hate crime that brings up the aversion or contempt for the female gender as a justification. The pathological hatred of the female gender culminates in extreme violence, torture, murder and in the present study in psychological, moral and emotional torture, due to the obsessive persecution impacting on basic aspects of the victim's life such as the right to come and go, visit relatives and have moments of peace and leisure. This gender hatred is due to the attitude of the aggressor who does not accept that the victim continues without him, gaining independence in the post-relationship (Campos, 2015; Dias; Souza Dias, 2015). It is conjectured that one of the pertinent judgments for these data is how women suffer structural violence resulting from the very organization of society, which punishes them due to their gender (Santos, 2022).

The police station that covers the highest number of occurrences is the Specialized Police Station for Assistance to Women (DEAM) of Ananindeua. It is asserted that these specialized units of the Civil Police are sought after and endorsed among the population as participants in the network to combat gender-based violence. Women have been encouraged to report male aggressors, so it is essential to strengthen the DEAM's mechanisms for welcoming/encouraging victims and training so that professionals can provide greater support

to victims who go through situations of greater vulnerability (Oliveira; Lemos; Pereira, 2022). In cases of crime stalking, it is believed that because victims are often unaware that obsessive stalking is a crime, the numbers are underestimated.

Stalking crimes in Ananindeua/PA, in general, are registered in the interval of 0 to 9 days from the fact (92.13%), demonstrating that the victims, for the most part, seek the police stations to register complaints in a relatively agile way. About the means employed, insidious persecution (Grangeia, Matos, 2010), is committed through licit or illicit conduct, an example of a licit conduct is calling a person, it is a daily behavior. Conduit, calling repeatedly in order to take away the victim's peace can already be configured as a chasing behavior. It will be the repetition of these behaviors that distinguishes a scenario of permanent harassment, due to the modus operandi that the persecutor surrounds the victim.

A study from Portugal pointed out that the majority of the sample of victims reports that the behaviors of the aggressors are daily (55.7%), or at least weekly for the minority, the persistence of the aggressors lasted about six months. The bond of the stalkers varied from acquaintance, friend, neighbor or family member, with 33.5% being ex-partners, an interesting fact of this quantitative research is that the stalking process for 41 people occurred during the courtship/relationship, in the case of those who were victims of ex-partners (Pires; Sani; Soeiro, 2018).

From now on, being observed daily by someone can be characterized as something everyday, however, when this observation invades privacy, the beginning of stalking may be developing (Côrte-Real, 2017). Andrade (2022) points out that the criminalization of conduct is the first step, an immediate solution, but discusses stalking as a public health problem and the constitution of the psyche.

A recent systematic review points out that with regard to the psychocriminological treatment of male stalkers, an intensive treatment regimen with the objective of reducing the behaviors that trigger the disorder has good results. Forensic treatment programs need to be created to curb such conduct, or even more violent crimes (Travaini *et al.*, 2024).

The limitations of the study include those related to the type of study, as these are secondary data, there is a risk of registration bias and/or underreporting, in addition to time jumps. As contributions, it is revealed that the profile of the practice of stalking in this municipality can be generalized to that of other Brazilian capitals, especially for samples of women with the same characteristics as the victims of Ananindeua.

5 CONCLUSION

This study characterized important variables for the understanding of the crime of stalking as a phenomenon related to domestic violence, victimizing young adult women, mostly self-employed and housewives, with complete high school education and single.

It was noted that the advent of Law No. 14,132/2021 increased the number of reports of this crime, driven by the notion that obsessive stalking causes harm and that it is linked to acts of violence against women and that they felt compelled to report it, although the number of cases is probably higher. Monday and Thursday are the days with the highest number of cases, and the time between the commission of the crime and the complaint varies from 0 to 9 days, being a behavior motivated by male hatred and revenge, reported by the victims in the occurrences. Thus, the current study reaffirms the sexist and patriarchal character of the obsessive persecution of women, victimized due to structural gender relations and a feeling of possession on the part of persecuting ex-partners.

It is verified, therefore, that in the city of Ananindeua, in the state of Pará, domestic or intrafamily violence is imbricated with the crime of stalking, affecting the routine of the victims since the personal residence emerged as the main stage for the persecution, as perceived by the women.

Thus, it is suggested to strengthen the prevention of this crime with lectures on behaviors, structural machismo, culture of peace and on the activities developed in the DEAM to amplify awareness about the complaint. Social micro-policies must be implemented sectorally, in order to strengthen the care network for women victims.

It was noted that there is a tendency for this type of crime to grow, which should imply the construction of points of care for the physical and mental health of the victims, thus, the Women's Police Station would be the point of support for these women for health services, social assistance and support centers and legal advice, for example.

Finally, for new perspectives on the theme under study, future research should focus on how the flow of care occurs for these women considering the post-stalking support network, research on the profile of the aggressor in this municipality, repercussions on the health of these women victims of stalking and perceptions of women assisted at the DEAM about conditions and care provided to them in the search for their rights.

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